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FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5507
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 KIGALI 00217

YAOUNDE FOR DATT

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV, RW
SUBJECT: TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS: NO MOVEMENT YET
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REFS: A) KIGALI 0155, B) STATE 11907

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. INSTALLATION OF TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS
REMAINS DEADLOCKED AND AFRICAN MEDIATION WITH LIBERAL
PARTY (PL) FACTIONS AT A DEAD-END. NEVERTHELESS,
DIPLOMATS' THIRD DEMARCHE, STRESSING CONCERN OVER THE
SECURITY SITUATION AND EMPHASIZING IMPORTANCE OF
PRESIDENTIAL ROLE IN THE TRANSITION PERIOD MAY HAVE

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MOVED THE PRESIDENT A LITTLE. PRIME MINISTER
DESIGNATE MAY BE PUTTING OUT FEELERS FOR COMPROMISE.
END SUMMARY.

DIPLOMATS REVIEW DEMARCHE RESULTS

3. THE NONCE CONVOKED DIPLOMATIC CORPS TO REVIEW THE
POLITICAL SITUATION IN LIGHT OF DEMARCHES ON
PRESIDENT, PRIME MINISTER, PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE,
AND RPF PRESIDENT. DEMARCHE LEADERS REPORTED THAT
THE LATTER THREE BLAMED DEADLOCK ON PRESIDENT,
EXPRESSED CONCERN FOR DETERIORATING SECURITY
SITUATION, AND NEED FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO
BRING PRESSURE ON PRESIDENT TO ESSENTIALLY CAPITULATE
TO THEIR POSITION. THE PRIME MINISTER DESIGNATE LEFT
HIS INTERLOCUTORS WITH IMPRESSION HE MIGHT BE WILLING
TO DISCUSS CONCESSIONS ON MINISTERIAL POSITIONS. THE
RPF DECLINED ANY RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE DEADLOCK.
THE PRESIDENT REPEATED WHAT HAS BECOME HIS STANDARD
POSITION: HE RESPECTS THE ACCORDS, CANNOT BECOME
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INVOLVED IN THE INTERNAL DISPUTES OF THE PARTIES, AND
IS LOOKING FOR CONSENSUS BEFORE HE ACTS TO SWEAR IN A
GOVERNMENT OR NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

4. THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS DECIDED TO CALL AGAIN ON THE
PRESIDENT TO REPORT, AS HE HAD REQUESTED, ON THEIR
CONVERSATIONS WITH THE OTHER INTERLOCUTORS. IN
ADDITION, THEY DECIDED TO IMPRESS ON HIM ONCE AGAIN
THE URGENCY OF THE SECURITY SITUATION AND THE NEED
FOR CONFIDENCE BUILDING TO ALAY THE DEEP MISTRUST
BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES. TO HELP REASSURE HIM, THE
DEMARCHE WOULD EMPHASIZE THE IMPORTANCE OF THE
PRESIDENT'S ROLE DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD.

DEMARCHE ON THE PRESIDENT

5. PRESIDENT CONVENED PAPAL NUNCIO, AMBASSADORS OF
BELGIUM, EGYPT, TANZANIA, UNITED STATES AND GERMAN
AND FRENCH CHARGES TO HIS OFFICE AT 11:00 A.M. THE
NUNCIO SET THE SCENE BY INDICATING THE DIPLOMATIC
COMMUNITY'S CONCERN ABOUT SECURITY FOR RWANDAN PEOPLE,
FOR FOREIGNERS AND FOR THE DIPLOMATIC COMMUNITY IN
VIEW OF RECENT DEMONSTRATIONS AND POLITICALLY
MOTIVATED VIOLENCE. HE UNDERScoreD THE IMPORTANCE OF

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THE ARUSHA ACCORD, ESPECIALLY CONCERNING SECURITY
WITHIN THE THE KIGALI AREA. HE THEN NOTED THE
PRESIDENT'S IMPORTANT ROLE IN LEADING HIS COUNTRY
TOWARDS PEACE THROUGH IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ACCORD.

6. LEADERS OF DIPLOMATIC TEAMS THEN GAVE THE
PRESIDENT A FULL RUNDOWN ON HOW OTHER KEY LEADERS,
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THE PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE AND THE RPF, VIEWED THE
CURRENT IMPASSE. NONE OF THIS WAS NEW TO THE
PRESIDENT WHO SAID "THESE PEOPLE ALWAYS SHOOT ARROWS
AT ME, I'M USED TO IT, BUT WHAT WOULD YOU SUGGEST."
THE FRENCH CHARGE SUGGESTED THAT THERE WAS AN
ATMOSPHERE OF MISTRUST AND THE PRESIDENT COULD, USING
HIS MORAL AUTHORITY, GIVE A PUBLIC STATEMENT IN
CALLING FOR NATIONAL RECONCILIATION THAT WOULD HELP
DISSIPATE THIS ATMOSPHERE. THE U.S. AMBASSADOR
SUGGESTED THAT POLITICS WAS NOW ERUPTING OUTSIDE OF
ANY GIVEN FRAMEWORK. IF THE GOVERNMENT AND ASSEMBLY
WERB INSTITUTED, THEN THIS POLITICAL ACTIVITY COULD
EVOLVE WITHIN A GIVEN FRAMEWORK. OTHERWISE IT

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DEVOLVES TO THE STREETS AND TO THE KIND OF VIOLENCE
PERPETRATED LAST SATURDAY. THE EGYPTIAN AMBASSADOR,
NUNCIO AND BELGIAN AMBASSADOR, IN TURN, UNDERScored
THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PRESIDENT'S ROLE IN LEADING
THROUGH THIS IMPASSE.

7. AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE MEETING, THE PRESIDENT
REITERATED THAT HE SUPPORTED THE ACCORD, THAT HE
WANTED PEACE, AND THAT HE UNDERSTOOD DIPLOMATIC
CORPS' CONCERNS ABOUT SECURITY. HE ASKED FOR THE
CORPS' HELP IN ACHIEVING IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ACCORD
AND OF REAL PEACE RWANDA.

MDR OPENING?

8. IN A RUMP SESSION OUTSIDE THE PRESIDENCY
FOLLOWING DEMARCHE, DIPLOMATS CONFERRED WITH TANZANIA
AMBASSADOR PRIOR TO HIS SCHEDULED MEETING WITH PRIME
MINISTER-DESIGNATE TWAGIRAMUNGU AFTERNOON 1/14. THEY
ENCOURAGED THE TANZANIAN AMBASSADOR IN HIS INTENTION

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TO URGE FLEXIBILITY, COMPROMISE AND POLITICAL REALISM
IN THE PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE'S EFFORT TO FORM A
GOVERNMENT.

9. SUBSEQUENTLY, WE ADVISED HIM OF SIGNAL RECEIVED
BY DCM FROM SOURCE CLOSE TO TWAGIRAMUNGU THAT HE
MIGHT BE WILLING TO CONSIDER INCLUDING FORMER PRIME
MINISTER DISMAS NSENGIYAREMYE IN HIS CABINET AS
FOREIGN MINISTER. THE SOURCE REASONED THAT DISMAS
COULD PLAY A ROLE IN STABILIZING THE PARTY AND

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CONTRIBUTE TO THE WORK OF THE CABINET. HE SAID
DISMAS WAS MORE LIKELY TO HELP UNBLOCK THE SITUATION
NOW THAM WAS FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER NGULINZIRA, THE
DISMAS FACTION'S CHOICE FOR FOREIGN MINISTER.

MEDIATION WITH PL FACTIONS AT DEAD-END

10. TANZANIAN AMBASSADOR REPORTED TO DIPLOMATS THAT
HIS EFFORTS TO MEDiate BETWEEN THE PL FACTIONS HAD
FAILED. HE SAID THE 1/8 MEETING BETWEEN THE
PRESIDENT AND THE RPF HAD CHARGED HIM WITH ADDRESSING
THE PL DIFFERENCES, WHICH HE HAD DONE DURING FACE TO
FACE MEETINGS BETWEEN MUGENZI AND LANDO 1/10-11.
DESPITE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES ON A NUMBER
OF POINTS, HE SAID HE FOUND NO WAY TO BRIDGE THEIR
DIFFERENCES. ONE SIDE, THE LANDO FACTION, INSISTS ON
HAVING THE DEPUTIES ELECTED SEPTEMBER 5, BEFORE THE
PARTY SPLIT, ACCEPTED AS OFFICIAL. THE OTHER, THE
MUGENZI FACTION, INSISTS THIS ELECTION WAS OVERTURNED
BY THE PARTY AND NEW DEPUTIES ELECTED DECEMBER 12-13.

11. THE TANZANIA AMBASSADOR SAID LANDO HAD WALKED
OUT OF THE MEDIATION BEFORE TANZANIA HAD A CHANCE TO
PROPOSE ITS OWN FORMULA OR TO EXAMINE WHAT THE
AMBASSADOR CALLED THE "DANGEROUS" COMPROMISE PROPOSED
BY THE CHURCH LEADERS. HE SAID HE HAD THROWN THE
BALL BACK TO THE PRESIDENT, WHO STATED THAT HE HAD NO
AUTHORITY, AND NO INTENTION, TO INTERVENE IN
POLITICAL PARTY PROBLEMS.

12. THE LANDO FACTION OF THE PL ISSUED A PRESS

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STATEMENT 1/11 ACCUSING THE TANZANIAN AMBASSADOR OF
MEDDLING IN A DANGEROUS EXERCISE AND CHARGING THAT
THE MEDIATION EFFORT WAS SIMPLY A PRESIDENTIAL
MANEUVER AIMED AT SERVING AS A PRETEXT FOR NOT
SWEARING IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY DEPUTIES.

UGANDAN VIEWS

13. AMBASSADOR RAWSON REQUESTED A MEETING WITH
UGANDAN AMBASSADOR KATETEGIRWE WITH THE PURPOSE OF
EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON THE SITUATION. THE UGANDAN
AMBASSADOR GAVE HIS ANALYSIS SUGGESTING THAT THE
ULTIMATE GOAL OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND

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RELOCATION OF TUTSI EXILES BACK IN RWANDA WAS BEING MISSED BECAUSE OF POLITICAL INFIGHTING OVER POSITION AND PRESTIGE AMONGST THE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP NOW IN KIGALI. RAWSON TOLD THE AMBASSADOR THAT HE FOUND THE RPF FIRMLY SEATED ON WELL ARGUED POSITIONS, BUT NOT APPARENTLY OPEN TO POLITICAL COMPROMISE OR LOOKING TOWARDS THE LONG-TERM FUTURE OF COEXISTENCE WITHIN A HUTU-DOMINATED COUNTRY. THE UGANDAN AMBASSADOR SUGGESTED THAT HE MIGHT BE GOING TO ENTEBBE TO SEE HIS PRESIDENT AND GIVE HIS REPORT, BUT HE WAS TRYING TO GET A BETTER FIX ON THE SITUATION BEFORE HE DID.

PRIME MINISTER TALKS TO THE NATION

14. IN AN ADDRESS TO THE NATION BROADCAST ON RADIO RWANDA 1/13, PRIME MINISTER UWILINGYIMANA DESCRIBED THE COUNTRY'S CURRENT POLITICAL ANOMALY. SHE SAID THE PRESIDENT'S POWERS DERIVE FROM THE PEACE ACCORD, THE GOVERNMENT'S FROM THE APRIL 1992 PROTOCOL BETWEEN THE FIVE POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE COALITION GOVERNMENT, AND THE LEGISLATURE'S FROM THE CONSTITUTION. SHE EMPHASIZED THE URGENCY OF INSTALLING THE TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS TO END THIS ANOMALY SO THAT THE GOVERNMENT'S SERIOUS ECONOMIC AND SECURITY PROBLEMS COULD BE ADDRESSED. SHE OFFERED NO SUGGESTIONS FOR OVERCOMING THE PRESENT IMPASSE.

COMMENT

15. DEEP MISTRUST BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND THE RPF

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LIES AT THE HEART OF THE QUEST FOR CONTROL OF THE
TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS AND ENSUING POLITICAL
DEADLOCK. IT IS JUST POSSIBLE THAT THE DEMARCHE ON
THE PRESIDENT MADE HIM REALIZE THAT THE DIPLOMATIC
COMMUNITY CONTINUES TO HOLD HIM ULTIMATELY
RESPONSIBLE FOR THE COURSE OF EVENTS IN RWANDA AND
THAT IT BELIEVES HE STILL HAS A CRUCIAL ROLE TO PLAY
IN BRINGING ABOUT NATIONAL RECONCILIATION, THE
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ARUSHA ACCORD, AND THE
ESTABLISHMENT OF INTERNAL SECURITY.

RAWSON

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